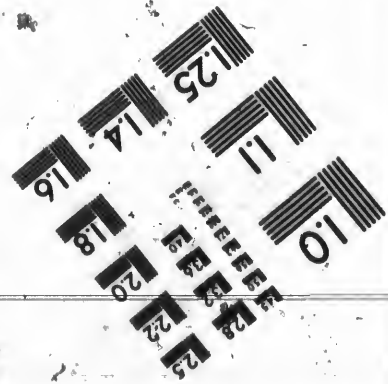
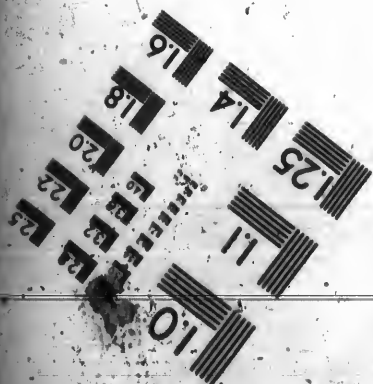
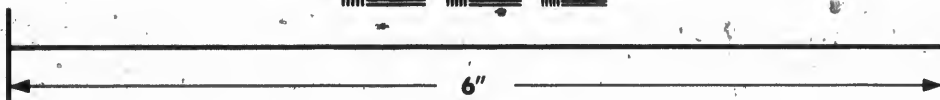
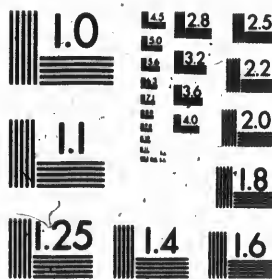


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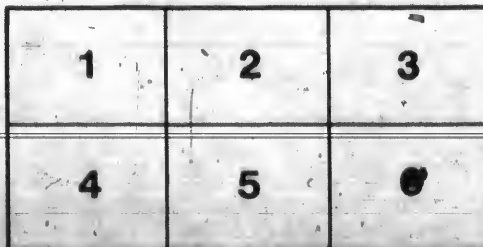
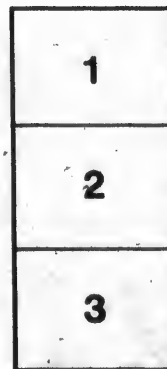
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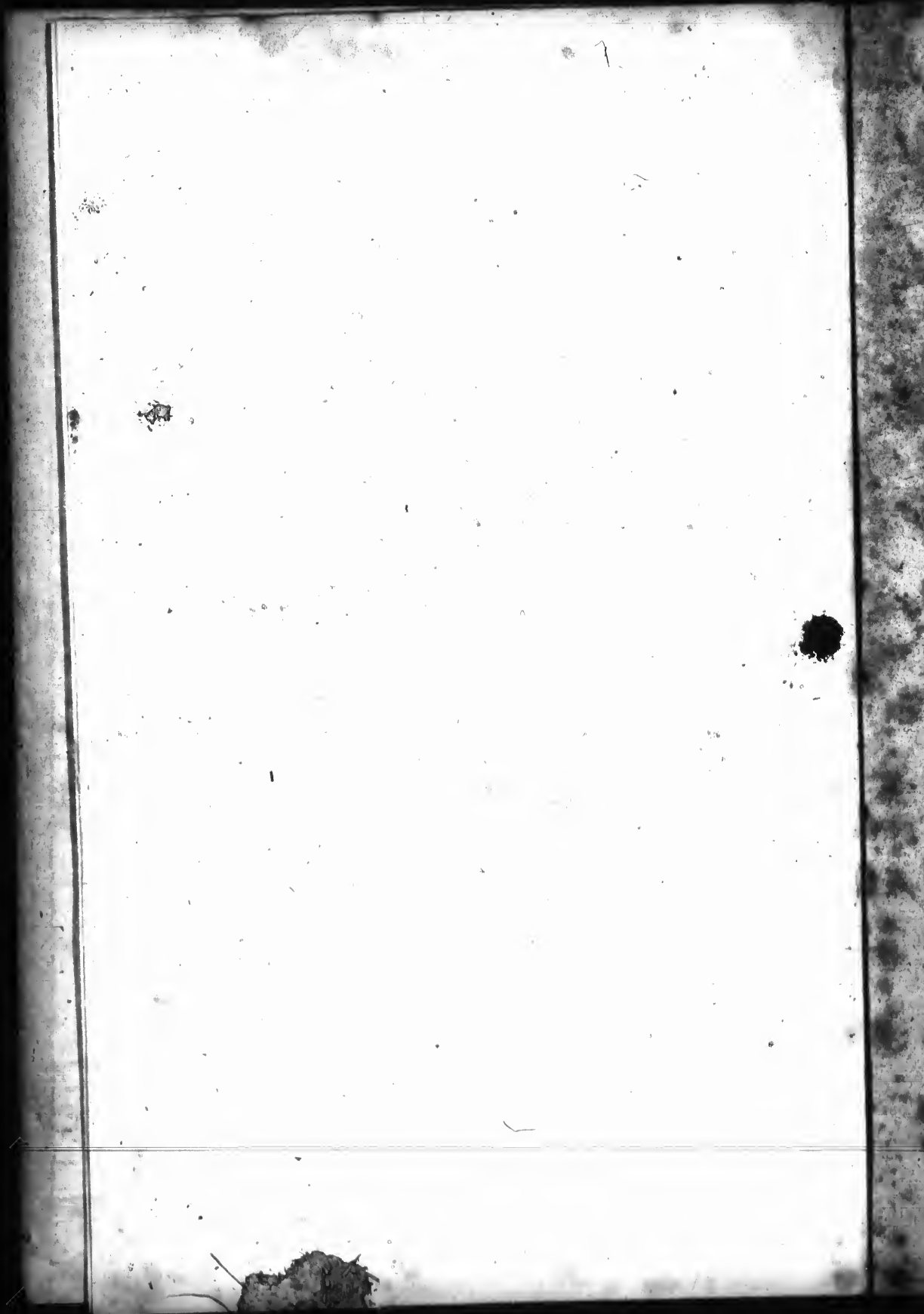
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Edward Tappan

THE

ESSEX JUNTO

AND THE

BRITISH SPY;

OR,

TREASON DETECTED.

PRINTED AT SALEM—MARCH 1812.

To the People of New-England.

FELLOW-CITIZENS,

96042

THE object of this publication is not to show you the necessity of a war with England, although this development must convince you, whilst she retains Canada, she will be continually plotting against the interest of the Union. It is not to accuse the people of New-England, designated as federalists, of treason against the United States; for we believe their views to be fair and honourable, and that they are attached to the Constitution of the U. States, and would not abandon it, unless blinded by their feelings, they could be hurried down the precipice before they were aware of approaching its brink. We ask them to read and consider attentively this little volume; to reflect on the scenes to which it alludes, and in which they may have been actors—and ask themselves, if they have not stood on the verge, hurried by the Essex Junto, a body small in numbers, but powerful in talents, wealth and intrigue; bent on the subversion of civil liberty, to secure themselves crowns, and titles of nobility. Regardless of the consequences of severing the Union, unmindful of the distresses and calamity that their measures must produce, provided they can ride to empires amidst the ruins of the country, and through rivers of blood. We ask you, fellow-citizens, to read attentively the disclosures of HENRY, the BRITISH-SPY; compare them attentively with the transactions of 1808 or 1809, and say, does not their internal evidence convince you beyond the possibility of a doubt, that what he wrote was true, and that the conspiracy which he has divulged, did and still continues to exist? In 1808, early in the year, it appears that several ships of the line, full of troops, arrived at Halifax; it appears that Henry had been, during this year, engaged for the British Government; that his conduct in this negotiation had been approved; and that he was again employed on the mission which he has divulged. That so early as Sept. 1808, divers essays appeared in the Centinel and other Boston papers, evidently designed to prepare the people for a separation of the States, and urging them to resist the laws of the Union. These Essays were in a few weeks after the short session of the Legislature in November, followed by a series of inflammatory resolves, declaring laws, (which had been declared by the Judiciary constitutional) unconstitutional; declaring that those officers who should execute them ought to be branded with infamy. Even the Hon. Mr. DEXTER did not hesitate to argue to a Boston Assemblage, as law, what the Court had decided against him not to be law. Armed associations were formed and trained in *Newburyport, Medford, Plymouth, &c.* In the midst of this inflammation, artificially excited and continued, the Legislature assemble. They denounce the Lieut. Gov. for obedience to the laws of Congress; declare the Embargo laws unconstitutional, and not legally binding on the citizens; denounce the Southern States; whiten to innocence the bloody hands of England, and paint in the most glowing colours the transactions of France; which, though bad enough, were white in comparison to the deeds of England. They pass, through both Houses, a Bill to legalise opposition to the Laws of the United States. They reiterate in the most arrogant terms against the doings of Congress, and issue a most inflammatory address to the People, containing the grossest calumnies and base fabrications to enlist the passions of the people against the doings of the National Government.—And appoint Embassadors to correspond with unacknowledged persons for unfavourable purposes. During these transactions a letter from the British Government is published in the *Palladium*, before it was disclosed by our Government, and HENRY appears amongst them; and in his letters published at this time develops to his government their designs. Then the Governor of Connecticut refuses obedience to the Laws. Then issues Mr. Pickering's famous electioneering epistle, denouncing the government, and eulogizing the Fast Anchored Isle; then comes, possibly from the same source, the suppressed French documents. Such, fellow-citizens, is the chain of events connected with this catastrophe which you must examine to detect the treason and the Traitors. Enquire, who visited and conversed with this gentleman? Who went with him and with FRANCIS JAMES JACKSON, from Boston to N. York? Who went at this time from Boston and Salem, to Quebec? These are points which may be easily ascertained—but we refer you to the Documents, and the eloquent speech of DE WITT CLINTON on this subject.

DOCUMENTS

From HENRY, the British Spy !!

WASHINGTON, MARCH, 10, 1812.

Messrs. MUNROE & FRENCH—Patriot Office.

WITH this, I send you a paper, containing the Message of the President, yesterday communicated to congress. Thus presented to the public, is sufficient to establish its authenticity; but lest any individual should doubt the validity of the letters and documents, accompanying the Message, permit me to state what took place before the Committee of Foreign Relations, to whom they were committed,—Immediately on the adjournment of the House, the Committee directed their Chairman to request the attendance of Mr. MONROE, the Secretary of State, to meet with them in the evening, at 7 o'clock, which he did, and he exhibited to the Committee the original papers, copies of which had been communicated with the Message. These papers being examined, Mr. Monroe was asked, if he knew the hand writing of Lord Liverpool—and he did not hesitate to say, that the letters, from Lord Liverpool to Sir George Provost, *were signed by him*; he further stated, that Mr. Pinkney, our late Minister at London, was *well acquainted with the hand writing of Lord Liverpool and Robert Peel, and with the hand writing of the clerks, employed in those offices, and that he declared them to be authentic documents.* And further, one gentleman of the Committee is well acquainted with the hand writing of J. H. Craig, late Governor of Canada, *and he is fully convinced, that the Instructions No. 2, and the Commission No. 3, numbered in the documents, were signed by him.*

There was a stipulation on the part of Government, that *the names of persons concerned with HENRY, in America, should not be insisted on**; this was a condition on which he consented to give up the papers. He expressly said, he never would, under any circumstances, *betray the confidence THEY had placed in him*—and that he should not have betrayed the confidence of the British Government, *if they had not been perfidious to him.*

Yours, EBEN SEAVER.

MESSAGE

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the U. States.

I LAY before Congress copies of certain documents which remain in the Department of State. They prove that at a recent period, whilst the United States, notwithstanding the wrongs sustained by them, ceased not to observe the laws of peace and neutrality towards G. Britain, and in the midst of amicable professions and negotiations on the part of the British government through its public ministers here, a secret agent of that government was employed in certain states,

* In the originals all the names were erased, many of which, however, were sufficiently legible to be understood, and conjecture says they are of high and honorable standing.

(4)
more especially at the seat of government in Massachusetts, in fomenting disaffection to the constituted authorities of the nation; and in intrigues with the disaffected for the purpose of bringing about resistance to the laws: and eventually in concert with a British force, of destroying the Union and forming the eastern part thereof into a political connection with G. Britain.

In addition to the effect which the discovery of such a procedure ought to have on the public councils, it will not fail to render more dear to the hearts of all good citizens that happy Union of these states, which, under Divine Providence, is the guaranty of their liberties, their safety, their tranquility and their prosperity.

MARCH 9, 1812.

JAMES MADISON.

Mr. Henry to Mr. Monroe.

PHILAD. FEB. 20, 1812.

Sir—MUCH observation and experience have convinced me, that the injuries and insults with which the United States have been so long and so frequently visited, and which cause their present embarrassment, have been owing to an opinion entertained by foreign States, "*that in any measure tending to wound their pride, or provoke their hostility, the Government of this Country could never induce a great majority of its Citizens to concur*"—And as many of the evils which flow from the influence of this opinion on the policy of foreign nations, may be removed by any act that can produce *unanimity among all parties in America*, I voluntarily tender to you, sir, such means, as I possess, towards promoting so desirable and an important object; which if accomplished cannot fail to extinguish, perhaps forever, those expectations abroad, which may protract indefinitely an accommodation of existing differences, and check the progress of industry and prosperity in this rising empire.

I have the honor to transmit herewith the Documents and correspondence relating to an important mission in which I was employed by Sir Jas. Craig, the late Governor general of the British Provinces, in North America, in the Winter of year 1809.

The publication of these papers will demonstrate a fact not less valuable than the good already proposed; it will prove that, no reliance ought to be placed on the professions of good faith of an administration, which, by a series of disastrous events, has fallen into such hands as a Castlereagh, a Wellesley or a Liverpool—I should rather say into the hands of the stupid subalterns, to whom the pleasures and the indolence of those Ministers have consigned it.

In contributing to the good of the United States by an exposition which cannot (I think) fail to solve and melt all division and disunion among its citizens, I flatter myself with the fond expectation that when it is made public in England it will add one great motive to the many that already exist, to induce that nation to withdraw its confidence from *men whose political career is a fruitful source of injury and embarrassment in America; of injustice and misery in Ireland; of distress and apprehension in England; and contempt every where.* In making this communication to you, sir, I deem it incumbent on me, distinctly and unequivocally to state that I adopt no Party views; that I have not changed any of my political opinions; that I neither seek

nor desire the patronage nor countenance of any Government nor of any party; and that in addition to the motives already expressed I am influenced by a just resentment of the perfidy and dishonor of those who first violated the conditions upon which I received their confidence; who have injured me and disappointed the expectations of my Friends, and left me no choice but between a degrading acquiescence in injustice, and a retaliation which is necessary to secure to me my own respect.

This wound will be felt where it is merited; and if Sir, JAMES CRAIG still live, his share of the pain will excite no sympathy among those who are at all in the secret of our connection.

I have the honor to be, Sir, your most obedient servant, &c. &c. &c.
(Signed) J. HENRY.

No. I.

Mr. RYLAND, Secretary to Sir James Craig late Governor general of the British provinces in North-America, to Mr. HENRY.

APPLICATION TO UNDERTAKE THE MISSION TO THE U. STATES.
[Most secret and confidential.]

My dear sir,

Quebec, Jan. 25, 1809.

THE extraordinary situation of things at this time in the neighboring states has suggested to the Governor in Chief the idea of employing you on a secret and confidential mission to Boston, provided an arrangement can be made to meet the important end in view, without throwing an absolute obstacle in the way of your professional pursuits. The information and political observations heretofore received from you were transmitted by his Excellency to the Secretary of State,* who has expressed his particular approbation of them, and there is no doubt that your able execution of such a mission as I have above suggested would give you a claim not only on the governor-general but on his Majesty's ministers, which might eventually contribute to your advantage. You will have the goodness therefore to acquaint me for his Excellency's information, whether you could make it convenient to engage in a mission of this nature, and what pecuniary assistance would be requisite to enable you to undertake it without injury to yourself.

At present it is only necessary for me to add, that the Governor would furnish you with a cypher for carrying on your correspondence, and that in case the leading party in any of the states wished to open a communication with this government, their views might be communicated through you.

I am, with great truth and regard, my dear sir, your most faithful, humble servant,
(Signed) HERMAN W. RYLAND.

John Henry, Esq.

No. II.

General instructions from Sir J. H. CRAIG to Mr. HENRY respecting his secret mission.

His Excellency the Governor in chief's instructions to Mr. Henry, Feb. 1809.
[Most secret and confidential.]

SIR,

Quebec, 6th Feb. 1809.

As you have so readily undertaken the service which I have sug-

* It will appear by the documents quoted, that the Essex Junto, early in 1808, had a correspondence with England, and had determined on the course of a separation of the States. And probably Henry's previous correspondence alludes to advances made by them to this purpose.

gested to you, as being likely to be attended with such benefit to the public interest. I am to request that with your earliest conveniency you will proceed to Boston.

The principal object that I recommend to your attention is the endeavor to obtain the most accurate information of the true state of affairs in that part of the Union, which, from its wealth, the number of its inhabitants, and the known intelligence and ability of several of its leading men, must naturally possess a very considerable influence over, and will indeed probably lead the other Eastern States of America in the part that they may take at this important crisis.

I shall not pretend to point out to you the mode by which you will be most likely to obtain this important information; your own judgment and the connections which you may have in the town must be your guide.

I think it however necessary to put you on your guard against the sanguineness of an aspiring party; the federalists as I understand have at all times discovered a leaning to this disposition, and their being under its particular influence at this moment is the more to be expected from their having no ill founded ground for their hopes of being nearer the attainment of their object than they have been for some years past.

In the general terms which I have made use of in describing the object which I recommend to your attention, it is scarcely necessary that I should observe, I include the state of the public opinion both with regard to their internal politics and to the probability of a war with England; the comparative strength of the two great parties into which the country is divided, and the views and designs of that which may ultimately prevail.

It has been supposed that if the Federalists of the Eastern States should be successful in obtaining that decided influence, which may enable them to direct the public opinion, it is not improbable, that rather than submit to a continuance of the difficulties and distress to which they are now subject, they will exert that influence to bring about a separation from the general Union. The earliest information on this subject will be of great consequence to our government, as it may also be, that it should be informed *how far in such an even: they would look up to England for assistance or be disposed to enter into a connection with us.**

Although it would be highly inexpedient that you should in any manner appear as an avowed agent, yet if you could contrive to obtain an intimacy with any of the leading party, it may not be improper that you should insinuate, though with great caution, that if *they should wish to enter into any communication with our government through me you are authorised to receive any such, and will safely transmit it to me,* and as it may not be impossible that they should require some document by which they may be assured, that you are really in the situa-

* It appears that early in April, 1808, the British had sent ships and men to co-operate in any necessary movement.—See Centinel of April 27th; "Hali-fax, April 18. This harbour is crowded with ships, and there is not Barrack room in town for the troops."

tion in which you represent yourself, I enclose a credential to be produced in that view; but I most particularly enjoin and direct, that you do not make any use of this paper, unless a desire to that purpose should be expressed, and unless you see good ground for expecting that the doing so may lead to a more confidential communication than you can otherwise look for.

In passing through the state of Vermont, you will of course exert your endeavors to procure all the information that the short stay you will probably make there will admit of. You will use your own discretion as to delaying your journey, with this view, more or less, in proportion to your prospects of obtaining any information of consequence.

I request to hear from you as frequently as possible, and as letters directed to me might excite suspicion it may be as well that you put them under cover to Mr. _____, and as even the addressing letters always to the same person might attract notice, I recommend you sometimes addressing your packet to the Chief Justice here, or occasionally, though seldom, to Mr. Ryland, but never with the addition of his official description.

I am sir, your most ob't humble serv't.

(Signed)

J. H. CRAIG.

John Henry, Esq.

No. III.

CREDENTIALS FROM SIR JAMES CRAIG, TO MR. HENRY, 6TH FEB. 1809.
(COPY.) (SEAL.)

THE bearer Mr John Henry is employed by me, and full confidence may be placed in him, for any communication which any person may wish to make to me in the business committed to him. In faith of which I have given him this under my hand and seal at Quebec, the 6th day of Feb. 1809

(Signed)

J. H. CRAIG.

No. IV.

Mr. Henry's letters to Sir James Craig, written whilst employed on a mission to Boston.

Answer to the letter of Mr. Secretary Ryland proposing the mission, &c.

(No. I.)

MONTREAL, JAN 31, 1809.

I HAVE to acknowledge the favour of your letter of the 26th inst. written by the desire of his excellency the governor in chief; and hasten to express through you, to his excellency my readiness to comply with his wishes.

I need not add how very flattering it is to receive from his excellency the assurance of the approbation of his majesty's secretary of state for the very humble services that I may have rendered.

If the nature of the service in which I am to be engaged will require no other disbursements than for my individual expences, I do not apprehend that these can exceed my private resources.

I shall be ready to take my departure before my instructions can be made out.

I have the honour to be, &c.

J. Hry.

H. W. Reyland, Esq. Secretary, &c. &c.

No. 2.

To his excellency the Governor general, &c. in answer to his letters of instructions.

MONTREAL, FEB. 10, 1809.

SIR—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your excellency's letter of instructions the letter of credence, and the cypher for carrying on my correspondence. I have bestowed much pains upon the cypher, and am, notwithstanding this deficient in some point which

* See note on the 5th page.

(8)
might enable me to understand it clearly. I have compared the example with my own exemplification of the cypher, and find a difference in the results ; and as the present moment seems favorable to the interference of his majesty's government in the measures pursued by the federal party in the northern states, and more especially as the assembly of Massachusetts is now in session. I think it better to set forward immediately,* than wait for any further explanation of the means of carrying on a secret correspondence ; which the frequency of safe private conveyances to Canada, will render almost wholly unnecessary. Should it however be necessary at any time, I take leave to suggest that the index alone furnishes a very safe and simple mode. In it there is a number for every letter in the alphabet, and particular numbers for particular phrases ; so that when I do not find in the index the particular word I want, can spell it with the figures which stand opposite to the letters. For example, if I want to say that "troops are at Albany," I find under the letter "r," that number 16 stands for "troops" and a number 125 for "Albany." The intervening words "are at" I supply by figures corresponding with the letters in these words.

It will be necessary to provide against accident by addressing the letters to Mr. _____, of Montreal, with a small mark on the corner of the envelope which he will understand.—When he receives it, he will then address the inclosure to your excellency, and send it from Montreal by mail. I will be careful not to address your excellency in the body of the letter, nor sign my name to any of them.—They will be merely designated by the initials A. B.

If this mode should in any respect appear exceptionable, your excellency will have the goodness to order a more particular explanation of the card. It would reach me in safety enclosed to _____, Boston.

I have the honor to be, &c.

J. Hy.

No. 3.

BURLINGTON, (VT.) FEB. 14, 1809.

Sir—I HAVE remained here two days in order fully to ascertain the progress of the arrangements heretofore made, for *organizing an efficient opposition to the general government*, as well as to become acquainted with the opinions of the leading people, relative to the measures of that party which has the ascendancy in the national councils.

On the subject of the embargo laws there seems but one opinion ; namely, that they are unnecessary, oppressive and unconstitutional.† it must also be observed that the execution of them is so invidious as to attract towards the officers of government the enmity of the people, which is of course transferable to the government itself ! so that in case the *state of Massachusetts should take any bold step towards resisting the execution of these laws*, it is highly probable that it may calculate upon the hearty co-operation of the people of Vermont.

* As Henry was in Amherst the 23d of Feb. he probably arrived in Boston that or the next day, as the distance is but about 40 miles.

† Five months previous to this, the District Court, in Massachusetts, in which a Federal Judge presided, had decided this law to be constitutional and no appeal was entered, although the Circuit Court and Supreme Court of the U. S. were both at this time federal.

I learn that the governor of this state is now visiting the towns in the northern section of it; and makes no secret of his determination, as commander in chief of the militia, to refuse obedience to any command from the general government* which can tend to interrupt the good understanding that prevails between the citizens of Vermont and his majesty's subjects in Canada. It is further intimated, that in case of a war, he will use his influence to preserve the state neutral, and resist with all the force he can command, any attempt to make it a party. I need not add, that if these resolutions are carried into effect, the state of Vermont may be considered as an ally of Great Britain.

To what extent the sentiments which prevail in this quarter exist in the neighboring states, or even in the eastern section of this state, I am not able to conjecture. I only can say, with certainty, that the **LEADING MEN OF THE FEDERAL PARTY ACT IN CONCERT**; and therefore, infer, that a common sentiment pervades the whole body throughout New-England.

I have seen a letter from a gentleman now at Washington to his correspondent in this place; and as its contents may serve to throw some light on passing events there, I shall send either the original or a copy with this dispatch. The writer of the letter is a man of character and veracity; and whether competent or not to form correct opinions himself, is probably within the reach of all the knowledge that can be obtained by the party to which he belongs. It appears by his statement that there is a very formidable majority in congress on the side of the administration, notwithstanding which, there is every reason to hope, that the northern states in their distinct capacity, will unite and resist by force a war with G. Britain. In what mode this resistance will first shew itself, is probably not yet determined upon; and may in some measure depend upon the reliance that the leading men may place upon assurances of support from his majesty's representative in Canada; and as I shall be on the spot to tender this, whenever the moment arrives that it can be done with effect—there is no doubt that all their measures may be made subordinate to the intentions of his majesty's government. Great pains are taken by the men of talents and intelligence to confirm the fears of the common people, as to the concurrence of the southern democrats in the projects of France; and every thing tends to encourage the belief, that the dissolution of the confederacy will be accelerated by the spirit which now actuates both political parties.

I am, &c.

A. B.

No. IV.

WINDSOR, (Vt.) FEB. 19, 1809.

Sir—MY last (No. 3) was written at Burlington, the principal

* It appears by appendix (A) that the Governor of Connecticut disobeyed the orders of the government, as above suggested; and that the Legislature of Massachusetts passed a vote of censure on the Lieut. Governor for obeying said orders.

† It will be seen in the papers to which we shall refer, that the Essex Junto have uniformly endeavoured to excite a jealousy of the Southern States, & have charged them with concurrence with, and partiality to France, the better to conceal their own views, and effect their own purposes.

town is the northern part of the state of Vermont. I am now at the principal town in the eastern section.

The fallacy of men's opinions when they act under the influence of sensibility, and are strongly excited by those hopes which always unite into a rising party, lead me to doubt the correctness of the opinions which I received in the northern section of this state; which from its contiguity to Canada and necessary intercourse with Montreal, has a stronger interest in promoting a good understanding with his majesty's government. Therefore, since my departure from Burlington, I have sought every favorable occasion of conversing with the democrats on the probable result of the policy adopted by the general government. The difference of opinion is thus expressed.

The federal party declare, that in the event of a war, the State of Vermont, will treat separately for itself with G. Britain; and support to the utmost the stipulations in which it may enter without any regard to the policy of the general government. The democrats on the other hand assert that, in such a case as that contemplated, the people would be nearly divided into equal numbers; one of which would support the government if it could be done without involving the people in a civil war; but at all events would risk every thing in preference to a coalition with G. Britain.—This difference of opinion is not to be wholly ascribed to the prejudices of party. The people in the eastern section of Vermont, are not operated upon by the same hopes and fears as those on the borders of the British colony.—These are not dependent upon Montreal for the sale of their produce nor the supply of foreign commodities.—They are not apprehensive of any serious dangers or inconvenience from a state of war, and although they admit that the governor, council and three fourths of the representatives in congress, are of the federal party, yet they do not believe that the state would stand alone and resist the national government. They do not, however, deny, that should the state of Vermont continue to be represented as it is at present, it would in all probability unite with the neighboring states, in any serious plan of resistance to a war, which it might seem expedient to adopt.—This I think is the safer opinion for you to rely on, if indeed reliance ought to be placed on any measure depending upon the will of the rabble, which is ever changing, and must ever be marked with ignorance, caprice, and inconsistency. As the crisis approaches, the difficulty of deciding upon an hazardous alternative will increase; and unfortunately there is not in Vermont any man of commanding talents capable of attracting general confidence; of infusing into the people his own spirit; and, amidst the confusion of conflicting opinions, dangers and commotion, competent to lead in the path of duty or safety.—The governor is an industrious, prudent man, and has more personal influence than any other—but his abilities are not suited to the situation in which a civil war would place him.

I am, &c.

A. B.

No. V.

ANNETT, NEW-HAMPSHIRE, FEB. 25, 1809.

Sir—A GENTLEMAN going direct to Canada, affords a safe and favourable opportunity of giving you some further account of my progress. I will not make use of the post-offices, when I can avoid it;

because private occasions supercede the necessity of writing in cypher; and the contempt of decency and principle, which forms part of the morals of the subaltern officers of a democracy, would incline them to break a seal with the same indifference, that they break their words, when either curiosity or interest is to be indulged.

I have not had sufficient time nor evidence, to enable me to form any opinion for myself of the lengths to which the federal party will carry their opposition to the national government in the event of a war. Much may be inferred from the result of the election of governors, which within two months will be made in the states of Massachusetts, New-Hampshire and Rhode-Island. From all I know and all I can learn of the general government, I am not apprehensive of an immediate war. The embargo is the favorite measure; and it is probable that other means will be employed to excite England to commit some act of hostility, for the sole purpose of placing the responsibility of war on that country: this I most particularly recommend to the consideration of ministers. The dread of opposition, and of the loss of popularity, will certainly keep the ruling party at Washington inactive. They will risk any thing but the loss of power; and they are well aware that their power would pass away with the first calamity which their measures might bring upon the common people (from whom that power emanates) unless indeed they could find a sufficient excuse in the conduct of Great Britain. This impression cannot be too deeply felt by his majesty's ministers; nor too widely spread throughout the British nation. It will furnish a sure guide in every policy that may be adopted towards the United States.

I have the honor to be, &c. &c.
No. VI.

A. B.

BOSTON, MARCH 3 1809.

Sir—I AM favoured with another opportunity of writing to you by a private conveyance, and think it probable, at this season, that the frequency of these will render it unnecessary to write to you in cypher.

It does not yet appear necessary, that I should discover to any person the purpose of my visit to Boston; nor is it probable that I shall be compelled, for the sake of gaining more knowledge of the arrangements of the federal party in these states, to show myself as a regular authorised agent of the British government, even to those individuals who would feel equally bound with myself to preserve with the utmost inscrutability so important a secret from the public eye. I have sufficient means of information to enable me to judge of the proper period for offering the co-operation of G. Britain, and opening a correspondence between the governor-general of British America and those individuals, who, from the part they take in the opposition to the national government, or the influence they may possess in any new order of things, that may grow out of the present differences, should be qualified to act on behalf of the northern states. An apprehen-

* Henry found the Essex Junts so ready to co-operate with him, that he did not even find it necessary to show his powers.

† Judge, ye People of Massachusetts, whether Henry had conditors or not in this state. Does not this language demonstrate a connexion of the closest and most confidential nature?

sion of any such state of things, as is presupposed by these remarks, begins to subside, since it has appeared, by the conduct of the general government, that it is seriously alarmed at the menacing attitude of the northern states. But although it is believed that there is no probability of an immediate war, yet no doubts are entertained, that Mr. Madison will fall upon some new expedients to bring about hostilities. What these may be, can only be deduced from what appears to be practicable. A *non-intercourse* with England and France will probably supersede the embargo; which, by opening with the rest of Europe a partial legitimate commerce, and affording strong temptations to that which is illegal,* will expose the vessels to capture, detention, and embarrassment; will justify the present policy; and produce such a degree of irritation and resentment as will enable the government of this country to throw the whole blame and responsibility of war from its own shoulder, upon those of the British ministry. If in this, the party attached to France should calculate with correctness, and the commerce of New-England should greatly suffer—the merchants being injured and discouraged, would not only acquiesce in the restrictive systems, but even submit to war. On the other hand, should the small traffic permitted by a non-intercourse law be lucrative and uninterrupted, the people would be clamorous for more, and soon compel the government to restore the friendly relations between the two countries. While I offer my opinion upon this subject, I cannot express but a strong hope that if any terms should be proposed by either government, to which the other might think proper to accede, that a principal motive to the adjustment of differences should be understood to arise from the amicable disposition of the eastern states particularly of the state of Massachusetts †. This, as it would increase the popularity of the friends of G. Britain, could not fail to promote her interests. If it could not be done formally and officially, nor in a correspondence between ministers, still perhaps the administration in the Parliament of G. Britain might take that ground, and the suggestion would find its way into the papers both in England & America.

It cannot be too frequently repeated, that this country can only be governed and directed by the influence of opinion: as there is nothing permanent in its political institutions, nor are the populace under any circumstances to be relied on, when measures become inconvenient and burdensome. I will soon write again, and am, &c. A. B.

No. VII.

BOSTON, MARCH 7, 1809.

Sir— I have now ascertained, with as much accuracy as possible, the course intended to be pursued by the party in Massachusetts that

* This policy appears to have been adopted as early as April 1808, when the King of England issued his outrageous Proclamation to encourage our vessels to violate the Embargo, by commanding his ships to treat with respect vessels without papers, which are by the law of nations subject to be treated as Pirates. See Appendix (B). The same policy has again been resorted to within a few months by the Prince Regent, in opening ports to our vessels during the Non-Intercourse, which were not open to them at other times.

† This is precisely the language used in the Boston Papers with respect to Erskine's arrangement—three months after this time.

is opposed to the measures and politics of the administration of the general government.

I have already given a decided opinion that a declaration of war is not to be expected; but, contrary to all reasonable calculation, should the congress possess spirit and independence enough to place their popularity in jeopardy by so strong a measure, the legislature of Massachusetts will give the tone to the neighboring states; will declare itself permanent until a new election of members; invite a congress, to be composed of delegates from the federal states, and erect a separate government for their common defence and common interest.

This congress would probably begin by abrogating the offensive laws, and adopting a plan for the maintenance of the power and authority thus assumed. They would by such an act be in a condition to make or receive proposals from Great Britain; and I should seize the first moment to open a correspondence with your excellency. Scarce any other aid would be necessary, and perhaps none required, than a few vessels of war from the Halifax station, to protect the maritime towns from the little navy which is at the disposal of the national government. What permanent connection between Great Britain and this section of the republic would grow out of a civil commotion such as might be expected, no person is prepared to describe; but it seems that a strict alliance must result of necessity. At present the opposition party confine their calculations merely to resistance; and I can assure you that at this moment they do not freely entertain the project of withdrawing the eastern states from the union, finding it a very unpopular topic, & although a course of events such as I have already mentioned, would inevitably produce an incurable alienation of New-England from the southern states. The truth is, the common people have so long regarded the constitution of the United States

* Resolved, That the legislature of this commonwealth will zealously cooperate with any of the other states, in all legal and constitutional measures, for procuring such amendments to the constitution of the United States, as shall be judged necessary to obtain protection and defence for commerce, and to give to the commercial states their fair and just consideration in the government of the Union; and for affording permanent security, as well as present relief, from the oppressive measures under which they now suffer.

Resolved, That the honourable the president of the Senate, and the honourable the speaker of the house of representatives, be requested to transmit a copy of this report, and the resolutions thereon, to the legislatures of such of our sister states, as manifest a disposition to concur with us in measures to rescue our common country from impending ruin. [Mass. Legislature—1809.]

† That the plan stated by Henry was the plan of the Essex Junto will appear most obviously from reference to Appendix (C)

‡ See note on 6th page.

§ The Junto, so early as Sept 1808, had in two series previously sounded the public opinion on this subject. For these numbers entitled, the one "A separation of the States, and its consequences to New-England," signed "FALKLAND," in the Boston Centinel, of Sept. 10th, 14th, 17th, 24th, and Oct. 1st, and said to be written by one of the first lawyers in Boston. An attempt is made to excite a jealousy of the southern states; to magnify the abilities of New-England and New-York—and to prove that they would be more prosperous separated from, than united with the southern states. The other entitled "The Embargo unconstitutional"—signed "HAMPTON"; Centinel, Sept. 2d, 7th, and 10th. Declares the Embargo laws unconstitutional, and proclaims the right of the people to resist them—see appendix (D.)

with complacency, that they are now only disposed in this quarter to treat it like a truant mistress, whom they would for a time put away on a separate maintenance, but, without farther and greater provocation, would not absolutely repudiate. *¶*

It will soon be known in what situation public affairs are to remain until the meeting of the new congress in May, at which time also this legislature will again assemble. The two months that intervene will be a period of much anxiety. *

In all I have written, I have been careful not to make any impression analogous to the enthusiastic confidence entertained by the opposition, or to the hopes and expectations that animate the friends of an alliance between the northern states and Great Britain. I have abated myself from all the sympathies these are calculated to inspire, because, notwithstanding that I feel the utmost confidence in the *INTEGRITY OF INTENTION* of the leading characters in this political drama, I cannot forget that they derive their power from a giddy, inconstant multitude; who, unless in the instance under consideration, they form an exception to all general rules and experience, will act inconsistently and absurdly. I am, &c. A. B.

No. VIII.

BOSTON, MARCH 9, 1809.

Sir—In my letter No. 6, I took the liberty to express my opinion of the probable effect of the non-intercourse law intended to be enacted; and of the mode by which G. Britain may defeat the real intention of the American government in passing it. But as the sort of impunity recommended might, in its application to every species of commerce that would be carried on, be deemed by G. B. a greater evil than war itself, a middle course might easily be adopted, which would deprive France of the benefit resulting from an intercourse with America, without, in any great degree, irritating the maritime states.

The high price of all American produce in France furnishes a temptation which mercantile avarice will be unable to resist. The consequence is obvious. But if, instead of condemning the vessels and cargoes which may be arrested in pursuing this prohibited commerce, they should be compelled to go into a British port, and there permitted to sell them, I think the friends of England in these states, would not utter a complaint. Indeed, I have no doubt that if, in the prosecution of a lawful voyage, the British cruisers should treat American ships in this manner, their owners would in the present state of the European markets, think themselves very fortunate, as it would save them the trouble and expence of landing them in a neutral port, and from thence reshipping them to England, now the best market in Europe for the produce of this country. The government of the U. S.

* As hon. Levi Lincoln was Lieut. Gov. and his sanction was necessary to the enacting of laws, the catastrophe was postponed until May, when Gov. Gore might take upon himself the business delegated in the interim to the Ambassadors, Otis and Bigelow.

† The Essex Junto may receive all the merit they so vociferously claim for their *Integrity* in this *Treason*.

‡ A Senator from Salem, in the Senate, observed that G. Britain had fairly subdued the ocean, and she was a fool if she did not profit by it.

would probably complain, and Bonaparte become presumptory; but even that would only tend to render the opposition in the northern states more resolute, and accelerate the dissolution of the confederacy. The generosity and justice of G. B. would be extolled, and the commercial states exult in the success of individuals over a government inimical to commerce, and to whose measures they can no longer submit with patient acquiescence.

The elections are begun; and I presume no vigilance or industry will be remitted to insure the success of the federal party.

I am, &c.

A. B.

P. S. Intelligence has reached Boston, that a non-intercourse law has actually passed, and that Martinique has surrendered to the British forces.

No. IX.

BOSTON, MARCH 13, 1809.

SIR—You will perceive from the accounts that will reach you in the public papers both from Washington and Massachusetts, that the Federalists of the northern states have succeeded in making the Congress believe, that with such an opposition as they would make to the general government, a war must be confined to their own territory, and might be even too much for that government to sustain. The consequence is, that after all the parade and menaces with which the session commenced, it has been suffered to end without carrying into effect any of the plans of the administration, except the interdiction of commercial intercourse with England and France—an event that was anticipated in my former letters.

Under what new circumstances the Congress will meet in May, will depend on the state elections and the changes that may in the mean time take place in Europe. With regard to Great Britain, she can scarce mistake her true policy in relation to America. *If peace be the first object every act which can irritate the maritime states ought to be avoided; because the prevailing disposition of these will generally be sufficient to keep the government from hazarding any hostile measure.* If a war between America and France be a grand desideratum, something more must be done: an indulgent conciliatory policy must be adopted, which will leave the democrats without a pretext for hostilities; and Bonaparte, whose passions are too hot for delay will probably compel this government to decide whether of the two great belligerents is to be its enemy.

To bring about a separation of the states, under distinct and independent governments, is an affair of more uncertainty; and however desirable, cannot be effected but by a series of acts and long continued policy, tending to irritate the southern and conciliate the northern people. The former are agricultural, the latter a commercial people. The mode of cherishing and depressing either is too obvious to require illustration. This, I am aware, is an object of much interest in Great Britain, as it would forever secure the integrity of his majesty's possessions on this continent, and make the (two governments, or whatever number the present confederacy might form into, as useful and as much subject to the influence of Great Britain as her colonies can be rendered. But it is an object only to be attained by slow and circum-

speed progression, and requires for its consummation more attention to the affairs which agitate and excite parties in this country, than Great Britain has yet bestowed upon it. An unpopular war—that is a war produced by the hatred and prejudices of one party but against the consent of the other party, can alone produce a sudden separation of any section of this country from the common head.

At all events, it cannot be necessary to the preservation of peace that Great Britain should make any great concession at the present moment; more especially as the more important changes that occur in Europe might render it inconvenient for her to adhere to any stipulations in favor of neutral maritime nations.

Although the non-intercourse law affords but a very partial relief to the people of this country from the evils of that entire suspension of commerce to which they have reluctantly submitted for some time past. I lament the repeal of the embargo; because it was calculated to accelerate the progress of these states towards a revolution that would have put an end to the only republic that remains to prove that a government founded on political equality can exist in a season of trial and difficulty or is calculated to insure either security or happiness to a people. I am &c. A. B.

No. X.

BOSTON MARCH 29, 1809.

Sir—Since my letter of the 13th, nothing has occurred which I thought worthy of a communication.

The last weeks of this month and the first of April will be occupied in the election of governors and other executive offices in the New England States.

The federal candidate in New-Hampshire is already elected by a majority of about 1000 votes. His competitor was a man of large fortune, extensive connexions and inoffensive manners. These account for the smallness of the majority.

In Connecticut, no change is necessary, none is to be apprehended.

In Rhode-Island, it is of no consequence of what party the governor is a member, as he has neither civil nor military powers, being merely president of the council.

In Massachusetts, it is certain that the federal candidate will succeed.

A few weeks will be sufficient in order to determine the relative strength of parties, and convince Mr. Madison that a war with G. Britain is not a measure upon which he dare venture. Since the plan of an organized opposition to the projects of Mr. Jefferson was put into operation, the whole of the New-England States have transferred their political power to his political enemies, and the reason that he has still so many adherents is, that those who consider the only true policy of America to consist in the cultivation of peace, have still great confidence, that nothing can force him (or his successor who acts up to his system, or rather is governed by it) to consent to war. They consider all the menaces and "dreadful note of preparation," to be a mere finesse, intended only to obtain concessions from England on cheap terms. From every sort of evidence, I confess I am myself of the same opinion; and am fully persuaded that the farce which has been acting at Washington will terminate in a full proof of the imbecility and spiritless temper of the actors. A war attempted without the concurrence of both parties, and the general consent of the northern states, which constitute the bone and muscle of the country, must commence without hope, and end in disgrace. It should, therefore, be the peculiar care of Great Britain to foster divisions between the north and south; and by succeeding in this, she may carry into effect her own projects in Europe, with a total disregard of the resentment of the democrats in this country. I am, &c. A. B.

See Appendix (E)

BOSTON, APRIL 13, 1809.

Sir—I send to Mr. R. a pamphlet entitled “Suppressed Documents.” The notes and comments were written by the gentleman who has written the “analysis, which I sent by a former conveyance.* These works have greatly contributed to excite the fears of the men of talents and property; *who now prefer the chance of maintaining their party by open resistance and a final seperation to an aliance with France, and a war with England.* So that should the government unexpectedly and contrary to all reasonable calculation, attempt to involve the country in a measure of that nature, *I am convinced (now that the elections have all terminated favourably) that none of the New-England states would be a party in it.* But, as I have repeatedly written, the general government does not seriously entertain any such desire or intention. Had the majority in the New-England states continued to approve of the public measures, it is extremely probable that Great Britain would now have to choose between war and concession. But the aspect of things in this respect is changed; and a war would produce an incurable alienation of the Eastern states, and bring the whole country in subordination to the interests of England, whose navy would prescribe and enforce the terms upon which the commercial states should carry and the agricultural states export their surplus produce. All this is as well known to the democrats as to the other party; therefore they will avoid a war, at least until the whole nation is unanimous for it. Still when we consider of what materials the government is formed, it is impossible to speak with any certainty of their measures. The past administration in every transaction presents to the mind only a muddy commixture of folly, weakness and duplicity. The spell, by which the nations of Europe have been rendered inert and inefficient when they attempted to shake it off, has stretched its shadows across the atlantic and made a majority of the people of these states alike blind to duty and to their true interests.

I am, &c.

A. B.

No. XII.

BOSTON, APRIL 26, 1809.

Sir—Since my letter No. 11, I have had but little to communicate. I have not yet been able to ascertain with sufficient accuracy the relative strength of the two parties in the legislative bodies in N. England.

* Nothing more clearly proves the connexion between the Essex Junto and British government, than these affairs of suppressed documents. The connexion thereby shewn between England and the Boston federal printers, should put the public on their guard against any thing they may say on this subject. For whatever they say must be considered as coming from an interested party. Just about this time Mr. Pickering's electioneering letter was published: and almost hand in hand comes these suppressed documents, which are anno. ced. by a hypocondriac writer, whose residence in England has entirely secured his devotion to that power. This writer is quite a *Proteus*, but always the same; always a “Rebel” although disguised as a “Real Christian” or a “driver of Apalysises.” These documents were given to this agent probably in return for the documents from Mr. Canning, published in the Boston Centinel, Jan. 11, which had never been promulgated by our government. Compare Mr. Pickering's electioneering letter with his letters on the *Hiisle Bell*, and say, is he is a fool or what?

C

In all these states, however, Governors have been elected out of the federal party, and even the southern papers indicate an unexpected augmentation of federal members in the next Congress.

The correspondence between Mr. Erskine and the Secretary of State at Washington, you will have seen before this can reach you. It has given much satisfaction to the federal party here, because it promises an exemption from the evil they most feared, (a war with England) and justifies their partiality towards Great Britain which they maintain was founded upon a full conviction of her justice and sincere disposition to preserve peace. Even the democrats affect to be satisfied with it, because as they insist it proves the efficacy of the restrictive system of Mr. Jefferson.

But the great benefit that will probably result from it, will be that Bonaparte may be induced to force this country from her neutral position. Baffled in his attempts to exclude from this continent the manufactures of Great Britain, he will most likely confiscate all American property in his dominions and dependencies, and declare war. Nothing could more than this contribute to give influence and stability to the British party. The invidious occurrences of the rebellion would be forgotten in the resentment of the people against France; and they would soon be weaned from that attachment to her which is founded on the aid that was rendered to separate from the mother country.

While Great Britain waits for this natural, I might say necessary result of the negotiation, would it not be extremely inexpedient to conclude a treaty with the American government? Every sort of evidence and experience prove, that the democrats consider their political ascendancy in a great measure dependent upon the hostile spirit that they can keep alive towards Great Britain, and recent events demonstrate that their conduct will be predicated upon that conviction; it is therefore not to be expected that they will meet with corresponding feelings a sincere disposition on the part of England to adjust all matters in dispute. They are at heart mortified and disappointed to find that G. Britain has been in advance of the French government in taking advantage of the provisional clauses of the non-intercourse law; and if they shew any spirit at the next session of Congress towards France, it will be only because they will find Bonaparte deaf to entreaty and insensible of past favors; or that they may think it safer to float with the tide of public feeling which will set strongly against him, unless he keep pari passu with England in a conciliatory policy.

When I began my letter, I intended to make some observations in relation to the boundary line.—[Here 10 or 12 lines of the manuscript are erased.]

I am, &c.

A. B.

No. XIII.

BOSTON, MAY 5, 1809.

SIR—Although the recent changes that have occurred quiet all apprehensions of war, and consequently lessen all hope of a separation of the states,* I think it necessary to transmit by the mail of each week a sketch of passing events.

* It is here shewn that the catastrophe before alluded to was not baffled by the integrity of the Junta, but by the treaty with Erskine.

On local politics I have nothing to add ; and as the parade that is made in the National Intelligencer of the sincere disposition of Mr. Madison to preserve amicable relations with Great-Britain, is in my opinion calculated to awaken vigilance and distrust rather than inspire confidence. I shall (having nothing more important to write about) take leave to examine his motives. I am not surprised at his conditional removal of the non-intercourse law with respect to Great Britain, because it was made incumbent on him by the act of Congress ; but the observations made of his friendly dispositions towards Great Britain is a matter of no little astonishment. The whole tenor of his political life directly and unequivocally contradicts them. His speech on the British treaty in '99. His attempts to pass a law for the confiscation of " British debts " and British property. His commercial resolutions grounded apparently on an idea of making America useful as a colony to France. His conduct while Secretary of State ; all form an assemblage of probabilities tending to convince me, at least, that he does not seriously desire a treaty in which the rights and pretensions of G. Britain would be fairly recognized. It seems impossible that he should at once divest himself of his habitual animosity and that pride of opinion, which his present situation enables him to indulge ; but above all, that he should deprive his friends and supporters of the benefit of those prejudices which have been carefully fostered in the minds of the common people towards England ; and which have so materially contributed to invigorate and augment the democratic party. Whatever his real motives may be, it is in this stage of the affair harmless enough to enquire into the cause of the apparent change. He probably acts under a conviction that in the present temper of the Eastern states a war could not fail to produce a dissolution of the union ; or he may have profited by the mistakes of his predecessor ; and is inclined to seize the present opportunity to prove to the world that he is determined to be the President of a nation rather than the head of a faction ; or he has probably gone thus far to remove the impression on the mind of many that he was under the influence of France in order that he may with a better grace and on more tenable grounds quarrel with G. Britain in the progress of negotiating a treaty. Whatever his motives may be, I am very certain his party will not support him in any manly and generous policy. Weak men are sure to temporise when great events call upon them for decision, and are sluggish and inert at the moment when the worst of evils is in action. This is the character of the democrats in the northern states. Of those of the south I know but little.

I am, &c. A. B.

No. XIV.

BOSTON, MAY 25, 1809.

SIR—My last was under date of the 5th inst. The unexpected change that has taken place in consequence of Mr. Madison's prompt acceptance of the friendly proposals of Great Britain has in the feelings of political men in this country, caused a temporary suspension of the conflicting parties ; and they both regard him with equal wonder and distrust. They all ascribe his conduct to various motives, but none believe him to be in earnest.

The state of New-York has returned to the Assembly a majority of federal members. All this proves that an anti-commercial faction cannot rule the northern states. Two months ago the state of New-York was not ranked a

among the states that would adopt the policy of that of Massachusetts; and any favorable change was exceedingly problematical.

I beg leave to suggest that in the present state of things in this country my presence can contribute very little to the interest of Great Britain. If Mr. Erskine be sanctioned in all he has conceded, by his Majesty's Ministers, it is unnecessary for me, as indeed it would be unavailing to make any attempt to carry into effect the *original purposes of my mission*. While I think it to be my duty to give this intimation to you, I beg it may be understood that I consider myself entirely at the disposal of his Majesty's Government.

I am, &c.

A. B.

No. XV.

MONTREAL, JUNE 12, 1809.

SIR—I have the honor to inform your Excellency that I received, thro' Mr. Secretary Ryland, your Excellency's commands to return to Canada, and, after the delays incident to this season of the year, in a journey from Boston, arrived here yesterday.

Your Excellency will have seen by the papers of the latest dates from the U. States, that a formidable opposition is already organized in Congress to the late measures of Mr. Madison; and it is very evident, that if he be sincere in his professions of attachment to Great Britain, his party will abandon him. Sixty-one members have already voted against a resolution to approve of what he has done; and, I have no doubt the rest of the democratic party will follow the example, as soon as they recover from the astonishment into which his apparent defection has thrown them.

The present hopes of the federalists are founded on the probability of a war with France; but, at all events, if this party is strong and well organized enough to prevent a war with England. It would now be superfluous to trouble your Excellency with an account of the nature and extent of the arrangements made by the federal party, to resist any attempt of the government unfavorable to G. Britain. They were such as do great credit to their ability and principles; and while a judicious policy is observed by G. Britain, secure her interests in America from decay. My fear of inducing a false security on the part of his Majesty's Government in their efficiency and eventual success, may have inclined me to refrain from doing them that justice in my former letters, which I willingly take the present occasion to express.

I trust your Excellency will ascribe the style and manners of my communications and the frequent ambiguities introduced in them, as arising from the secrecy necessary to be observed, and my consciousness that you understood my meaning on the most delicate points without risking a particular explanation.

I lament that no occasion commensurate to my wishes has permitted me to prove how much I value the confidence of your Excellency and the approbation already expressed by his Majesty's minister.

I have the honor to be, &c.

I certify that the foregoing letters are the same referred to in the letter of H. W. Ryland, Esq. dated May 1st, 1809, relating to the mission in which I was employed by Sir James Craig, by his letter of instructions bearing date February 6, 1809.

(Signed)

J. IN HENRY.

No. V.

Mr. Ryland to Mr. J. Henry, 1st May, 1809.

MY DEAR SIR—The news we have received this day from the States, will, I imagine, soon bring you back to us, and if you arrive at Montreal by the middle of June I shall probably have the pleasure of meeting you there as I am going up with Sir James and a large suit. The last letters from you are to the 13th April; the whole are now transcribing for the purposes of being sent home where they cannot fail of doing you great credit, and I most sincerely hope they may eventually contribute to your permanent advantage. It is not necessary to repeat the assurance that no effort within the compass of my power shall be wanting to this end.

* We point this out as another instance of the integrity of the principles of the Junta, of which they have such proud testimony in the letter of 7th of March.

I am cruelly out of spirits at the idea of Old England truckling to such a debased and accursed government as that of the United States.

I am greatly obliged to you for the trouble you have taken in procuring the books, though if Spain falls I shall scarcely have heart to look into them. I can add no more now, but that I am most heartily, and affectionately, yours.

(Signed)

H. W. R.

J. Henry, Esq. Boston.

Mr. Ryland to Mr. Henry, dated 4th May, 1809.

MR. DEAR SIR—You must consider the short letter I wrote you by the last post as altogether unofficial, but I am now to intimate to you in a more formal manner our hope of your speedy return, as the object of your journey seems, for the present at least, to be at an end. We have London news by the way of the river up to the 6th March, which tallies to a day with what we have received by the way of the States. Heartily wishing you a safe and speedy journey back to us.

I am, my dear sir, most sincerely yours,

(Signed)

H. W. R.

Have the goodness to bring my books with you, though I shall have little spirit to look into them unless you bring good news from Spain.

No. VI.

Mr. Henry's, memorial, to Lord Liverpool enclosed in a letter to Mr. Peel of the 13th June, with a copy of that letter.

The undersigned most respectfully submits the following statement and memorial to the Earl of Liverpool.

Long before and during the administration of your Lordship's predecessor the undersigned bestowed much personal attention to the state of parties and to the political measures in the U. S. of America—

(Here is an erasure of about four lines.)

Soon after the affair of the Chesapeake frigate, when His Majesty's Governor General of British America had reason to believe that the two countries would be involved in a war, and had submitted to his Majesty's ministers the arrangements of the English party in the U. States, for an efficient resistance to the General Government, which would probably terminate in a separation of the northern states from the general confederacy: he applied to the undersigned to undertake a mission to Boston where the whole concerns of the opposition were managed. The object of the mission was to promote and encourage the federal party to resist the measures of the General Government; to offer assurances of aid and support from His Majesty's government of Canada; and to open a communication between the leading men engaged in that opposition and the Governor General upon such a footing as circumstances might suggest; and finally to render the plans then in contemplation subservient to the views of His Majesty's Government.*

The undersigned undertook the mission which lasted from the month of January to the month of June inclusive, during which period those public acts and legislative resolutions of the Assemblies of Massachusetts and Connecticut were passed, which kept the General Government of the United States in check and deterred it from carrying into execution the measures of hostility with which Great Britain was menaced.

* Vide the despatches of Sir J. Craig in June 1808.

For his services on the occasion herein recited, and the loss of time and expences incurred, the undersigned neither sought nor received any compensation; but trusted to the known justice and liberality of his Majesty's government for the reward of services which could not, he humbly conceives, be estimated in pounds shillings and pence. On the patronage and support which was promised in the letter of Sir J. Craig under date of the 26th January, 1809, (wherein he gives an assurance "That the former correspondence and political information transmitted by the undersigned had met with the particular approbation of his Majesty's Secretary of State; and that his execution of the mission (proposed to be undertaken in that letter) would give him a claim not only on the Governor General but on his His Majesty's ministers") the undersigned has relied, and now most respectfully claims, in whatever mode the Earl of Liverpool may be pleased to adopt.

The undersigned most respectfully takes this occasion to state, that Sir J. Craig promised him an employment in Canada worth upwards of one thousand pounds a year by his letter (herewith transmitted) under date of 13 Sept. 1809, which he has just learned has, in consequence of his absence, been given to another person. The undersigned abstains from commenting on this transaction; and most respectfully suggests that the appointment of Judge Advocate General of the Province of Lower Canada, with a salary of 500 pounds a year, or a Consulate in the U. States *sine curia*, would be considered by him as a liberal discharge of any obligation that his Majesty's government may entertain in relation to his services.

Copy of a letter to Mr. Peel, enclosing the foregoing.

Sir—I take the liberty to enclose you a memorial addressed to the Earl of Liverpool: and beg you will have the goodness either to examine the documents in your office, or those in my own possession, touching the extent and legitimacy of my claims.

Mr. Ryland, the secretary of Sir J. Craig, is now in London: and from his official knowledge of the transactions and facts alluded to in the memorial, can give any information required on that subject.

I have the honor to be, &c. &c.

JUNE 13th, 1811.

(Signed)

J. H.

Letter of the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Liverpool, by his Secretary R. Peel, Esq. recognizing Mr. [Name] services, &c.

No. V

DOWNING STREET, 28th June, 1811.

Sir—I have not failed to lay before the Earl of Liverpool, the memorial, together with its several enclosures, which was delivered to me a few days since, by General Loft, at your desire.

His lordship has directed me to acquaint you that he has referred to the correspondence in this office, of the year 1808, and finds two letters from Sir James Craig, dated 10th April, and 5th May, transmitting the correspondence that has passed during your residence in the northern states of America, and expressing his confidence in your ability and judgment, but Lord Liverpool has not discovered any wish on the part of Sir James Craig, that your claims for compensation, should be referred to this country; nor, indeed, is allusion

made to any kind of arrangement or agreement that had been made by that officer with you.

Under these circumstances, and had not Sir James Craig determined on his immediate return to England, it would have been Lord Liverpool's wish to have referred your memorial to him, as being better enabled to appreciate the ability & success with which you executed a mission, undertaken at his desire. Lord Liverpool will, however, transmit it to Sir James Craig's successor in the government, with an assurance, that, from the recommendations he has received in your favor, and the opinion he has formed on your correspondence, he is convinced that the public service will be benefitted by your active employment in a public situation.

Lord Liverpool will also feel himself bound to give the same assurance to the Marquis Wellesly, if there is any probability that it will advance the success of the application which you made to his lordship.

I am, sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

(Signed)

ROBERT PEEL.

JOHN HENRY, Esq. 27, LEICESTER SQUARE.

Mr. Henry to Mr. Peel, September 24, 1811. No other answer than a despatch to Sir George Prevost and the letter marked B.

No. VIII. LONDON, 4th SEPT. 1811.

SIR—I have just now learned the ultimate decision of my Lord Wellesley relative to the appointment which I was desirous to obtain; and I find that the subsisting relations between the two countries, forbid the creating a new office in the United States, such as I was solicitous to obtain. In this state of things I have not a moment to lose in returning to Canada, and have taken my passage in the last and only ship that sails for Quebec this season. As I have not time to enter de novo into explanations, with the gentleman who is in your office, and as I have received assurances from you, in addition to the letter of my Lord Liverpool, of the 27th June, "that his Lordship would recommend me to the governor of Canada for the first vacant situation that I would accept." I beg the favor of you to advise me how I am to get that recommendation without loss of time.

I have the honor to be, &c. &c.

J. H.

ROBERT PEEL, Esq. &c. &c. &c.

Copy of the letter written by Lord Liverpool to Sir Geo. Prevost, furnished by the under Secretary of State. Original, in the despatch to the Governor General.

No. XI.

DOWNING-STREET, 16th SEPT. 1811.

SIR—Mr. Henry, who will have the honor of delivering this letter, is the gentleman who addressed to me the memorial, a copy of which I herewith transmit, and to whom the accompanying letter from Mr. Peel was written by my direction.

In compliance with his request, I now fulfil the assurance which I have given, of stating to you my opinion of the ability and judgment which Mr. Henry has manifested on the occasions mentioned in his memorial; and of the benefit the public service might derive from his active employment in any public situation, in which you think proper to place him.

I am, sir, your most obedient, humble servant.

(Signed)

LIVERPOOL.

To Sir George Prevost, Bart. &c. &c.

Mr. Ryland to Mr. Henry.

No. X.

Tuesday Evening, July 2d 1811.

Dear Henry—It gives me real pleasure to find that the apprehension I had formed with respect to the fulfilment of your expectations, is likely to prove erroneous. As every thing which passed relative to your mission was in writing, I think you will do well in submitting to Mr. Peel all the original papers. I, myself, could give no other information relative to the subject than what they contain, as you and I had no opportunity of any verbal communication respecting it, till after your mission was terminated, and I never wrote you a letter in the Governor's name, which had not previously been submitted to his correction.

The impression I had received of your character and abilities made me anxious to serve you, even before I had the pleasure of a personal acquaintance with you, and the same desire has operated on me ever since; I am, therefore, entitled to hope, that any opinion which I may have given you, as to your best mode of obtaining an employment under government, will be received with the same candor that gave rise to it. I think you will do well to persevere as you propose. I have no doubt that every letter from you which Sir James sent home, will be found in Mr. Peel's office, as the established practice there is to bind the dispatches and enclosures yearly up together.

Sincerely wishing you every success. I am, most faithfully yours,
John Henry, Esq. (Signed) H. W. RYLAND.

LORD LIVERPOOL'S DISPATCH.

To Sir George Prevost, Governor General of Canada, with its enclosure, dated 10th Sept. 1811. Downing-Street.

SIR—Mr. Henry, who will have the honor of delivering this letter, is the gentleman who addressed to me the memorial, (a copy of which I herewith transmit,) and to whom the accompanying letter from Mr. Peel, was written by my direction.

In compliance with his request, I now fulfil the assurance which I have given of stating to you my opinion of the ability and judgment which Mr. Henry has manifested on the occasions mentioned in his memorial, and of the benefit the public service might derive from his active employment in any public situation in which you should think proper to place him.

I am, sir, your most obt. humble serv't. (Signed) LIVERPOOL.
 To Sir George Prevost, Bart. &c.

Mr. Henry's Memorial to Lord Liverpool, enclosed in Lord Liverpool's Dispatch.

To the Right Honorable the Earl of Liverpool, the undersigned most respectfully submits the following Memorial.

Long before and during the administration of your Lordship's predecessor, the undersigned bestowed much personal attention to the state of parties and political measures in the United States of America, and had an opportunity* [Here an erasure of ten or twelve lines.] and to unite the [An erasure here of two or three lines] the information transmitted by the undersigned to Sir James Craig, and by him to Lord Castlereagh, MET WITH HIS LORDSHIP'S APPROBATION;† and when the hostile preparations of the United States suggested to Sir James Craig the necessity of making corresponding arrangements of precaution & defence, for the security of his Majesty's Colonies, he applied to the undersigned to undertake a secret and confidential mission to the northern states;‡ the party already mentioned; to direct their operations, and transmit regular information of the same, and to endeavor to render their plans subversive to the interests of Great Britain.†

* See the letters of Mr. Henry addressed to the Secretary of Sir James Craig, and by him transmitted to Lord in the month of April, 1808.

† See document No. 1, herewith submitted.

‡ See document No. 1 and 2, herewith submitted.

The undersigned readily undertook the mission, and spent five months in the active and zealous discharge of the duties connected with it [An erasure here of twenty or twenty-five lines*] which deterred the general government from the purpose already mentioned, to form a coalition with France,† while the information which he transmitted to Sir James Craig, probably saved the trouble and expence of arming the Canadian militia. All this, the undersigned performed without ever showing his commission or appearing as an authorised agent—from a thorough conviction that a discovery of his mission would furnish the French party with the means of destroying the influence of the party adhering to Great Britain in every quarter of America, and enable the general government to go to war upon popular and tenable ground.

In the application of Sir James Craig to the undersigned to undertake the mission aforesaid, he says ¶“The information and political observations received from you heretofore were all transmitted to the Secretary of State, who has expressed his particular approbation of them, and there is no doubt that your able execution of such a mission as I have above suggested, would give you a claim not only on the governor-general (of B. America) but on his Majesty’s ministers, &c.‡”

The undersigned being now in England on his private affairs, and on the eve of departure for America, most humbly and respectfully submits his claims, under the stipulations aforesaid, to the Earl of Liverpool in the confident expectation that his Lordship will treat them with that justice and liberality which upon investigation they may be found to merit.

It may not be superfluous to add, that the undersigned has never received in any shape whatever any compensation or patronage for the services he has rendered. This fact, Mr. Ryland, the Secretary of Sir James Craig, now in London, can vouch for; as well as for the truth of all the matters set forth in this memorial. I have the honor, &c. (Signed) J. HENRY.

27, Leicester-Square, June 23, 1811.

Extract from the official letter of Sir James Craig, signed by Mr. Ryland, dated Jan. 1809, accompanying Lord Liverpool’s despatch.

Most secret and confidential.

Quebec, 26th January, 1809.

My Dear Sir—The extraordinary situation of things at this time in the neighboring States, has suggested to the governor in chief the idea of employing you on a secret and confidential mission, provided an arrangement can be made to meet the important end in view, without throwing an absolute obstacle in the way of your professional pursuits.

¶ The information and political observations heretofore received from you were transmitted by His Excellency to the Secretary of State, who has expressed his particular approbation of them, and there is no doubt that your able execution of such a mission as I have above suggested, would give you a claim not only on the Gov. General, but on His Majesty’s ministers, which would eventually contribute to your advantage. ¶ At present it is only necessary for me to add, that the Governor will furnish you with a cypher for carrying on your correspondence; and in case the leading party in any of the States wish to open a communication with this government, their views might be communicated through you. I am, &c.

(Signed)

HERMAN W. RYLAND.

To John Henry, Esq.

Extract from the general instructions given by Sir James Craig to Mr. Henry, dated 6th Feb. 1809, accompanying Lord Liverpool’s despatch.

Quebec, 6th Feb. 1809.

SIR—As you have so readily undertaken the service which I have suggested to you, as likely to be attended with much benefit to the public interests, I am to request that with your earliest conveniency you will proceed to Boston.

* See Letter No. 1, of the series transmitted by Sir J. Craig, to the Colonial Department, under date Feb. 14, 1809.

† See the remainder of the aforesaid letter.

‡ See document No. 1 herewith submitted.

The principal object that I recommend to your attention is the endeavor to obtain the most accurate information of the state of affairs in that part of the Union, which from its wealth, the number of its inhabitants, and the known intelligence and ability of several of its leading men, must naturally possess a very considerable influence over, and will indeed probably lead, the other Eastern States of America in the part that they may take at this important crisis. I shall not pretend to point out to you the mode by which you will be likely to obtain this important information. Your own judgment and the connections you have formed must be your guide.

In the general terms which I have made use of to describe the objects which I recommend to your attention, it is scarcely necessary to observe that I include the state of public opinion both with regard to the external politics and the probability of a war with England; the comparative strength and views of the great parties into which the country is divided, and the views & designs of that which may ultimately prevail.

If the federalists of the Eastern States should be successful in obtaining that decided influence which may enable them to direct the public opinion.—It is not impossible that rather than submit to a continuance of the difficulties and distress to which they are now subject, they will exert that influence to bring about a SEPARATION OF THE GENERAL UNION. The earliest information on this subject may be of great consequence to our government; as it may also that it should be informed how far they would in such an event look up to England for assistance and be disposed to enter into a connexion with us.—these I leave to your judgment and discretion. (Signed) J. H. CRAIG.

[The letter of instructions is long. The above are the principal points in it, except as to secrecy.]

Extracts of letters of recal from the mission in consequence of the arrangement entered into between Mr. Erskine and the American government.

Quebec, May 1809.

"The news we have received this day from the United States will, I imagine, soon bring you back to us. The last letters received from you are to the 13th April.—The whole are now transcribing to be sent home where they cannot fail of doing you great credit, and eventually contribute to your permanent advantage." (Signed) H. W. RYLAND, Sec.

J. Henry, Esq.

4th May, 1809

I am now formally to intimate to you our hope of your return: as the object of your mission seems for the present, at least, to be abandoned. Sincerely wishing you a safe and speedy journey back to us. I am, &c.

J. Henry, Esq.

(Signed)

H. W. RYLAND.

[Here follows a copy of a letter from Mr. Peel to Mr. Henry, dated Downing-Street, 28th June 1809.—See page 22.]

[The following Speech was intended to have followed the Address on the 24 page, but was inadvertently omitted.]

Hon. DE WIT CLINTON'S SPEECH,
ON THE SUBJECT OF A CONSPIRACY TO SEVER THE
UNION—Delivered in the Senate of the State of New York,
February 1809

"I BELIEVE that virtue and vice, wisdom and folly, are generally distributed among parties in proportion to their relative strength and numbers. I believe that the great body of every party mean to do right, and I fully accord with a celebrated writer, that the people are never wrong in their sentiments, in their opinions, often. But I do not mean to exempt from censure the desperate leaders of a profligate conspiracy against the good of our country, who at this all-important period are scattering the firebrands of civil discord through the United States. The opposition now excited is not an ordinary opposition.

It does not merely aim a blow at a rival party, nor is it confined to the destruction of a prominent individual. It takes a more daring and adventurous attitude—it bids defiance to our laws and threatens the dissolution of the Union.— It is perhaps, known to but few, that the project of a dismemberment of this country is not a novel plan, growing out of recent measures of the government; as has been pretended. It has been cherished by a number of individuals for a series of years, and a few months before the death of a distinguished citizen, whose decease so deeply excited the public sensibility, it was proposed to him to solist his great talents in the promotion of this nefarious scheme, and to his honor be it spoken, it was rejected by him with abhorrence and disdain. Some of the newspapers of New England have at various times inculcated the treasonable doctrine in elaborate essays, and the match appears to be now lighted to produce an explosion which will overwhelm us with all the horrors of civil war. It cannot be necessary, Sir, to expatiate on the calamities which will result from a severance of the Union. I cannot picture to my imagination a greater evil. It will be the opening of Pandora's box; partial confederacies arrayed in hostile form against each other; foreign influence infused into the very heart of the body politic; injurious restrictions and vexatious regulations on commerce and intercourse, standing armies, civil wars, military despotism.— Such, Sir, will be the deplorable situation of our country, & this state particularly, which yearly by the turns, will be a bordering state, & exposed to the greatest injury. If she remains true to the western, southern and middle states, she will be bounded by three of the states of the Eastern confederacy. If she joins the Eastern factionists, she will border on some of the states of the southern confederation. Our commercial emporium, the great depot of the commodities and trade of more than one half of the United States, and the greatest mart of foreign commerce, will be exposed to plunder and contribution. The narrow tongue of land which runs up from the southern extremity of the state, would be liable at all times to be overrun by a superior hostile force. And after having travelled through a sea of blood, some daring adventurer, some Cæsar, some Cromwell, or some Bonaparte, would seize the government by force, and reduce us and our posterity to the rank of his slaves. My blood freezes with horror, and every feeling of my heart revolts at the dreadful prospect. May God in his infinite mercy avert these disasters from our beloved country. Should that direful time ever occur, our sky will be enshrouded in clouds and darkness, and the sun of American glory will set forever.

Look sir, at the storm which is gathering in the east, its clouds are black, heavy and portentous. Look at the resolves of several of the towns and even of the capital of Massachusetts. Observe the disorganizing, Jacobinical, seditious and traitorous spirit which pervades them. The legislatures of the different states are invited to array themselves against the general government. The very men who a few years since were the strenuous advocates for melting down the state governments, for a strong national executive that would maintain the union of the states, for an energetic, absorbing national government, that would control and regulate the centrifugal force of the local governments; these are now the warm partizans of state supremacy, the devoted friends of the state legislatures. The resolutions of Boston are more seditious & reprehensible than any that were passed at the time of the Western insurrection of Pennsylvania, and they are certainly intended to inspire a spirit of treason into the proceedings of the state legislature. We are told that a special session of the legislature of Connecticut is to be had. Is this a link of the same chain? Is this a part of the system of severance? Is this the commencement of the Northern Confederacy, which was threatened last summer? It is time, it is high time, that this great state should come forth in all her strength, and exhibit a decided front, and an erect attitude in favor of the violated majesty of the laws—it should frown into insignificance the Catalines and the Borgia's of our country; it should let the Eastern states know at once, that they have nothing to expect from us but decided opposition to a dismemberment of the Union. I trust in God, sir, that a great, a commanding majority of our Eastern brethren will be found faithful to themselves, to their country, and to posterity. I cannot believe that a people so intelligent, so patriotic, so pure in morals, and a people who have been the first in the ranks of liberty and patriotism, will at once renounce the

the high character they have hitherto sustained, rally round a foreign government in opposition to their own, & cherish the principles of disorganization, confusion and civil discord. Is there not reason to apprehend that there is an intimate understanding between the Essex Junta and the British ministry, and that foreign influence has struck its deadly roots deep in that portion of our country? The publication of Canning's false and malignant letter, the violent declamations in favor of Great Britain, the servile vindication of her measures towards the United States, and even of the attack on the Chesapeake, shew in colors as vivid as the streams of lightning, *the hand of Job*, and evince a deadly spirit of concert and co-operation with a foreign government. The leaders of these faction proceedings are without the semblance of excuse.—Driven from power by the indignant voice of an injured people, and despairing to regain it by honest means, they appear to be governed by the same unprincipled sentiments, and actuated by the same hellish principles, which the greatest of poets ascribes to the deceiver of mankind:

***** Better to REIGN in Hell
 Than SERVE in Heaven" —

better to regain office and elevation, through blood, destruction and general ruin, than not to obtain them at all.

I have done sir—I have discharged a great duty, which the situation of my country demanded. I shall call for the eyes and nays on the resolutions I now offer; not with a view of perplexing any member in giving his vote, for I loudly hope that every vote will be freely given in their favor—but that our names may be put on record, so that when the feuds and contentions which now agitate us are either forgotten, or remembered only in the historic page—when we who are here assembled shall live only in the memory of posterity, our conduct on this solemn occasion, and in this eventful crisis, may be the subject of its impartial judgment."

—ooo—ooo—

APPENDIX.

(A.)

"ONE of the Circulars of DEARBORNE, the Secretary at War, to the Governors of the several States, requesting them to designate officers and troops to cut the throats of those citizens, whose the Collectors should suspect intended to invade the scouted *Embargo Laws*, was transmitted to His Excellency JONATHAN TRUMBULL, Governor of the State of Connecticut. To which he returned the following answer.

LEBANON, FEB 4, 1809.

Sir—I HAVE received your letter of the 18th January, conveying to me a request of the President of the United States, that as commander in chief of the Militia of this State, I would appoint a select number of officers of our Militia, to whom the collectors of the customs may apply for military aid in certain cases, which may by them, be thought necessary for compelling obedience to the laws of Congress enforcing the *Embargo*.

"I have had the subject of this request under my most serious and mature consideration; the final result of which, I now have the honor to communicate to you.

"I have reflected that neither the constitution, nor statutes of this State, have given to the commander in chief of its Militia, any authority to make such appointment of officers as has been requested; nor does my information suggest to me, any authority given to the President of the United States, derived either from the constitution or laws of the United States, to call upon the executive of an individual

State to take an agency in appointments, such as are contemplated by the request mentioned.

"Conceiving also, as I do, and believing it to be the opinion of the great mass of the citizens of this State, that the late law of Congress for the more rigorous enforcement of the embargo is UNCONSTITUTIONAL* in many of its provisions, interfering with the State sovereignty, and subversive of the guaranteed rights, privileges, and immunities of the citizens of the United States; I have from these considerations, deemed it peculiarly and highly improper for a state executive to contribute his *volunteer* aid in support of laws bearing such an aspect.

"And when I reflect upon the extent of measures which must probably be resorted to for the enforcement of this law; a law which from the means contemplated for its support and execution, it would seem is to require all the military and naval force of the union. I cannot suppress my deep anxiety for the events it may produce.

"I might also add, that I cannot be induced to risk my *responsibility* to the public by contributing towards placing such a serious power, in the hands, and at the disposal of men in whom I should not be able in all instances to repose the fullest confidence; more especially when their individual acts and measures, may not always be under the regulation of the best motives, and when their proceedings in execution of this law, will naturally tend to put, at extreme hazard, the peace, lives, property, and dearest rights of our fellow-citizens.

"Under this view therefore of the subject, and with these considerations before me, my mind has been led to a serious and decided determination to decline a compliance with your request, and to have no agency in the appointments which the President has been pleased to refer to me.

"While I take the liberty of thus declining this agency, you will be pleased to recollect, that on all former occasions, when *constitutional* applications have been made to this State, for the execution of the *constitutional* laws and requisitions of the Union, the promptitude and readiness of their compliance, have merited and received the approbation if not the applause of the general administration of the United States. With all due consideration I am, Sir your obedient servant,
JONATHAN TRUMBULL"

"Hon. Secretary at war."

AFTER a report disapproving the conduct of Gov. Lincoln for obeying the directions of the Secretary of War, the following resolution was submitted and passed, to wit—

WHEREFORE RESOLVED, That in the opinion of this house, the said military orders of the first of February instant, issued by His Honour Levi Lincoln, lieutenant governor, and commander in chief of this commonwealth, are irregular, illegal, and inconsistent with the principles of the constitution; tending to the destruction of military discipline, an infringement of the rights and derogatory to the honor of both officers and soldiers; subversive of the militia system, and highly dangerous to the liberties of the people.

All which is respectfully submitted.

ISAAC MALBY, PR. ORDER.

* See last note on the 8th page.

(B.)

LONDON, APRIL 16th, 1808.

IN the Council of the 12th April, the following Instructions are said to have passed the Privy Council.

GEORGE R.

"Instructions to the Commanders of our Ships of War and Privateers.—Given at our Court at Windsor, the 14th April, in the 28th year of our Reign.

"Our will and pleasure is, that you do not interrupt any Neutral Vessel laden with lumber and provisions, and going to any of our Colonies, Islands, or settlements in the West Indies, or South America, to whomsoever the property may appear to belong; and notwithstanding such vessels may not have regular clearances and documents on board; and in case any vessel shall be met with, and being on her due course to the alleged port of destination, an indorsement shall be made on one or more of the principal papers of such vessels, specifying the destination alleged, and the place where the vessel was so visited. And in case any vessel so laden shall arrive and deliver her cargo at any of our colonies, islands, or settlements aforesaid, such vessel shall be permitted to receive her freight, and to depart, either in ballast or with any goods that may be legally exported in such vessel, and to proceed to any unblockaded port, notwithstanding the present hostilities or any future hostilities which may take place; and a passport for such purpose shall be granted to the vessel by the Governor or other persons, having the chief civil command in such colony, island, or settlement."

"G. R."

(C.)

Extracts from the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Legislature—1809.

THE Senate in their answer to the Governor's Speech, referring to the Embargo Laws, say:—"We beg leave to observe, that those rights, which the people have not chosen to part with, should be exercised by them with delicacy—only in times of great danger—not with "distracted and confusion"—not to oppose the laws, but to prevent acts being respected as laws, which are unwarranted by the commission given to their rulers. On such occasions, passive submission would on the part of the people, be a breach of their allegiance, and on our part treachery and perjury."

The House observe in their answer:—"We are unwilling to believe that any division of sentiment can exist among the New-England states or their inhabitants as to the obvious infringement of rights secured to them by the constitution of the United States; and still more so, that any men can be weak or wicked enough to construe a disposition to support that constitution, and preserve the Union by a temperate and firm opposition to acts which are repugnant to the first principles and purposes of both, into a wish to secede from the other states; and sacredly pledge themselves to Your Honour in defence of all those rights which have been violated abroad, or usurped at home."

"Their humble prayers have been answered by an act so arbitrary and oppressive, that it violates the first principles of civil liberty, and the fundamental provisions of the constitution. At such a moment, and under such a pressure, when every thing which freemen hold dear is at stake, it cannot be expected, and it ought not to be wished, that they should suffer in silence. The House of Representatives cannot admit that laws which operate unequally are unavoidable—the government, in their opinion, has no right to sacrifice the interests of one section of the Union to the prejudices, partialities or convenience of another."

"We perfectly agree with Your Honour in the general principle, that in a free government, the majority must determine and decide upon all existing or projected measures. But it will be recollected that the decision of that majority, to be binding, must be constitutional and just."

From the report of the committee on the Embargo Petitions, we select the following, viz.—"By a timid and unwarrantable compliance with the wishes of a foreign power, we are suddenly excluded from the ocean; our trade is destroyed; our industry paralyzed; and poverty and ruin are rapidly over-spreading our land. Contemplating this state of things, and recollecting their views and objects at the time of adopting the constitution, the people do not re-

quite any further argument to convince them, that the primary objects of that compact are now neglected; that their most important interests are wantonly sacrificed and their most essential rights flagrantly violated.

"But the committee forbear to pursue these reflections. It is painful to dwell on those evils and distresses which it is out of our power to relieve. The committee are not at present prepared to recommend any adequate and satisfactory remedy, which could be applied by the two houses of the legislature alone. The most efficient and perhaps the only certain remedy, rests with the people, who will soon have it in their power to unite the whole government of the state in one joint effort, with other states, whose interests and objects are similar to our own."

"RESOLVED, That the act of the Congress of the United States, passed on the ninth day of January in the present year, for enforcing the act laying an embargo, and the several acts supplementary thereto, is, in the opinion of the legislature, in many respects, unjust, oppressive and unconstitutional, and not legally binding on the citizens of this state.

"IN Gov. Gore's report we have the following:—"To this end, let Congress repeal the embargo, annul the convention with France, forbid all commercial intercourse with the French dominions, arm our public and private ships, and *insure the republican banner against the imperial standard.*"

In the memorial of the Legislature to Congress we have the following:—"Thus whenever a petty officer shall be found hardy and adventurous enough to exercise the authority conferred by this act, the sovereignty and independence of the state will be humbled in the dust; as its government must vindicate by force its dignity and its honour, and may be consequently involved in a civil war.

"This legislature cannot review without the most painful emotions the measures of the general government which they have been considering. They can not, without the most gloomy apprehensions, contemplate the probable consequences of a perseverance in those measures."

From the Address of the Legislature to the People, we select the following:—"What can be done, when the whole community which they represent deems itself oppressed, and its local and permanent interests forever endangered; when the administration through pride of system, from misapprehension of the interests of the country, or under the influence of a hostile disposition towards one nation, or undue partiality to another, adopts and deliberately adheres to an insatuated policy, which arrests all the occupations and disturbs all the relations of society, and by sapping the foundations of individual prosperity, drives a whole people to despair!

"In this extremity, protesting in the sight of God the sincerity of their attachment to the union of the states, and their determination to cherish and preserve it at every hazard, until it shall fail to secure to them those blessings which alone give value to any form of government. They have arraigned the measures of our national rulers, not with a spirit of animosity, or a desire to expose them to obloquy and disgrace, but with a single view to stop their career in a course of measures to which it is physically as well as morally impossible for the people of this commonwealth much longer to submit. A candid examination will probably satisfy our constituents that less could not be done consistently with the claims of our fellow citizens, nor more without authorizing a forcible resistance to acts of Congress, an ultimate resource, so deeply to be deprecated, that the cases which might justify it should not be trusted even to the imagination, until they actually happen.

"While the legislature insist upon their right, to warn their fellow-citizens of all unconstitutional acts and usurpations of the national government; and while they, at the same time, readily acknowledge the expediency of exercising this right, ought to be restricted to cases of great national emergency, it is but justice to themselves to *demonstrate* that the present state of this commonwealth is within this obvious exception.

*The two Houses passed a bill which may be seen in the Boston Centinel, Feb 8, 1809, legalizing resistance to execution of the Embargo laws which Governor Lincoln refused to sign.

"If for those evils it was in the power of the legislature to devise any temporary remedy, you are sensible that a concurrence from the present executive magistrate (Gov Lincoln) of the commonwealth could not be expected. But as the malady is deep, you will still be deceived by trusting to any momentary relief.

"The legislature are aware that their measures and sentiments will encourage their opponents in propagating the foul imputation of a design to dismember the Union. But when did party malice want a theme to excite popular prejudices ?

"It would indeed be a grateful occupation to the legislature to apply an immediate remedy to the evils of which the petitioners complain, and which we fear will be aggravated by a continuance of existing commercial restrictions, or substitutes not less oppressive and fatal, though veiled under new titles. But they are compelled to avow that it is with the people themselves that every efficient plan of redress must originate. While the advocates for British war and the contemners of commerce can calculate upon your divisions, they will advance in their mad and presumptuous course, and rely upon your governors and your representatives to neutralize your opposition to their measures. But when they perceive that you are prepared to break the chains imposed by a fatal and mistaken policy, and that all the constituted authorities of New-England are united in sentiment and purpose," &c.

From the Resolutions passed at the town-meeting in Gloucester, in the County of Essex, Jan. 12, 1809.

"Resolved, That some of the most important provisions of the State Constitution have been violated ; that Congress, under a pretence of regulating, have annihilated commerce ; that a standing army has been raised, and troops quartered among us in times of profound peace, to enforce at the point of the bayonet the most tyrannical laws ; that the encroachments of the general government upon the state governments ought to be signals of general alarm ; one spirit ought to animate the whole—~~and~~ and above all, AROUSE THE NORTHERN STATES to a sense of their danger."

Resolution passed at a meeting in Newburyport, in the County of Essex, Jan. 20, 1809.

"Resolved, That we consider the acts laying an Embargo, and the several acts supplementary thereto, and more especially the last act, as unconstitutional, unjust and oppressive; and that we recommend that all legal steps be taken to prevent the execution of the same.

"Resolved, That we will not aid or assist in the execution of the several Embargo laws, especially the last, and that we consider all those who do, as violators of the Constitution of the United States and of this Commonwealth ; and that they be considered as unworthy of the confidence and esteem of their fellow-citizens.

"Resolved, That we do not consider it the duty of any soldier to aid and assist in carrying into execution the last Embargo law."

Resolutions of the town of Boston, passed at a town meeting, Jan. 24, 1811.

"Resolved, That we will not voluntarily aid or assist in the execution of the act passed on the ninth day of this month, for enforcing the several embargo laws ; and that all those who shall so assist, in enforcing upon others the arbitrary and unconstitutional provisions of this act, ought to be considered as enemies to the constitution of the United States and of this state, and hostile to the liberties of the people.

"Resolved, That the example given by that veteran soldier, Gen. Lincoln, and other undeviating patriots, in resigning offices intended to be prostituted to subserve the purposes of oppressing the citizens, and enforcing arbitrary edicts, ought to be imitated by all public officers ; and that the inhabitants of this town consider it as an highly honorable sacrifice of individual emolument to public welfare."

The resolutions passed at Boston were advocated by Hon. Samuel Dexter, who had before argued the subject in the District Court, but he preferred to appeal to the populace of Boston, rather than the Supreme Court of the U. S.

(D.)

"*FALKLAND*," in *Boston Cent.* Sept. 17, 1808, after comparing the strength of Virginia with New-England, he says:—"We are sensible that comparisons of this sort may appear invidious, but our fears have driven us to this examination. Betrayed, and on the point of being sacrificed, we anxiously enquire if there is any hope left, if any means of preservation yet remain? We stand like a man, who, perceiving an enemy approach, marking his way with destruction, collects his spirits and estimates his strength and resources, before he decides whether he will beg his life, or make one effort to save it."

"*HAMPDEN*," in *Boston Centinel*—says,

"New-England is approaching an awful crisis, but her prosperity may yet be retrieved; her destiny is still within her own controul; and her hardy sons must now decide whether she shall remain humbled, prostrate, debased at the feet of a haughty mistress of the Union, or whether she shall at length assert her violated rights, and vindicate her insulted honor. "The time has arrived when every man who values the commercial prosperity of the northern states. The source of our wealth and strength of our domestic enjoyments and political importance may and ought to join in protecting that commerce from the unjust, tyrannical and unconstitutional oppressions of Virginia." The consequence is, that they cannot be regarded as laws (the Embargo laws) of the United States, they have no force or obligation whatever." "What then is our remedy? What ought to be the conduct of every good citizen? We put these questions to the Legislators, the Jurors, and the Judges of New England."

"It being then certain that the several acts for laying and enforcing the present Embargo, are unconstitutional; that they have no validity and no force whatever; in that they are not the laws of the United States—The question then returns, what ought to be the measures of New England?" "If Virginia was in our situation," "every Virginian would prepare his musket, and see that his bayonet was sharpened."

"This perpetual Embargo being unconstitutional, every man will perceive that he is not bound to regard it, but may send his produce or his merchandise to a foreign market in the same manner, as if the government had never undertaken to prohibit it."

(E.)

Extract from the Speech of His Excellency Gov. Trumbull, to the Legislature of Connecticut—Feb. 23, 1809.

"IT will be useful for the Legislature to take a view of the various measures of the National Legislature, during their present and preceding sessions, not only those which have immediate relation to the Embargo, but other acts which have been and are under their consideration, affecting the rights, interests, welfare, and even the peace of the nation. Indeed, it would be useful for the general good, if the State Legislatures were often to cast a watchful eye towards the General Government, with a view candidly to consider, and judiciously discern, whether the powers delegated to the United States are not exceeded, or are so exercised as not to interfere with, or counteract those which are reserved by the people for their own management. When under the direction of a wise and prudent discernment, a temperate caution—not an over-jealous disposition, such an examination will always prove a wholesome measure."

"On the present occasion it will be unnecessary for me to enter into any particular statement of our private sufferings, or the threatening aspect of our public situation, in relation to the unprecedented acts of our General Government, which are accumulating upon us. The individual feelings and experience of the members of the Legislature, now convened from all parts of the state, will speak the private distresses which have been produced by these acts; and your general information will give you, gentlemen, a correct view of the dangers which impend our public interests, liberty, rights and property, arising from the same source. Despairing of substantial relief from any other quarter, the people are now looking with anxious solicitude and hope, to the wisdom and direction of the Legislature of their own choice; and seem confident that some mode may be devised to remove the pressure under which they are

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at present suffering. To your collected wisdom and prudence they submit the task—And may it not be hoped, that with our united efforts, under a temperate, discreet and firm consideration of our situation and circumstances, we may be able, by the Influence of Divine Aid to fulfil the just and reasonable expectation of our fellow citizens? Whenever our National Legislature is led to overleap the prescribed bounds of their Constitutional powers, on the State Legislatures, in great emergencies, devolves the arduous task—it is then right—it becomes their duty, to interpose their protecting shield between the rights and the liberties of the people, and the assumed power of the General Government.

“Several communications will now be made for your consideration, among which you will observe a correspondence between me and the Secretary at war, of the United States—the particulars of this correspondence, with its object and its result on my part, will doubtless gain your most serious and solemn attention.

In all our deliberations on this momentous occasion, may the Divine Wisdom guide us into the path of duty, and lead us to the happiest results for the general good, the peace and security of the people.

J. TRUMBULL.

“Extra Session, February 23, 1809.”

CONGRESS—FRIDAY, MARCH 13, 1812.

The following Deposition accompanied the report of the Committee of Foreign Relations, to whom was referred the subject of Henry's Disclosure.

Count Edward De Crillon, sworn—This deponent knows Mr. Henry—he dined with him at Mr. Wellesley Pole's, in September, and afterwards at Lord Yarmouth's; met with him also at different fashionable clubs; deponent fell in with Mr. H. subsequently by accident; deponent procured a passage for America with capt Tracy, of the ship New Galen, of Boston, at the New London Coffee House. On the day following he went to Portsmouth, but before his departure he received a letter from capt Tracy, couched in the following terms:—“Sir, you must go to Ryde, where you will find a gentleman called captain Henry, waiting for the New Galen; I shall send a boat on shore for both of you.” Deponent went to Ryde, but did not find captain H. there. Remained there 3 weeks alone before capt. H. arrived. Capt. H. 3 days after his arrival fell sick, he kept his bed 22 days, during which time he was often delirious, frequently uttering the name of Lord Liverpool. The deponent having two servants, one of them attended on Mr. H. during his illness—he was visited by Mr. Powell, of Philadelphia, a Mr. Wilkinson, or Dickson, of the British army, and a Mr. Perkins* of Boston; he received above 200 letters from a Boston house (Higginsons) in Finsley-Square, that had lately stopped payment. He refused to take the letters, giving them to the captain. Mr. H. was also visited by a Mr. Bagholt, who bro't him letters from Sir James Craig—Henry refused to receive those letters—he recovered from his sickness—deponent occupying the most agreeable house in the place, Henry's physician asked the favor of an apartment for him till he was ready to embark. After eight weeks detention, the wind became fair and the vessel sailed. The day before her departure, Mr. Bagholt arrived at Ryde, with letters from Lord Liverpool to Sir George Prevost, and to Mr. Henry, who, when he

* THOMAS HANDYSIDE PERKINS the Moderator of Boston Caucuses, and Boston Town-Meetings—the same gentleman, who in Nov. 1809, went to Marblehead with the British Admiral Coffin, from Halifax, and examined the Fort and harbor in that and other towns contiguous.

saw the seal of the letter addressed to him, said, throwing it on the table, "that is a letter from Liverpool; what more does he want of me?" He appeared to be much agitated and retired to his room. Mr. Baghote returned that night to London without taking leave. But the wind coming fair the next morning the ship sailed. Mr. Edward Wire, and Mr. West, both of Boston, & a Mrs. Thompson, of London, were passengers in the ship—Henry at first appeared very low spirited, took a cabin to himself and mostly dined alone. In good weather he employed himself in shooting pistols, at which he was very expert. One dark night, about 10 o'clock, the witness was walking on deck much dejected, when Henry accosted him—"Count Crillon, (said he) you have no confidence in me; you are unhappy; confide your sorrows to me." He spoke so kindly that deponent made him in part acquainted with his situation.—He replied, "one confidence deserves another," I will now tell you my situation. I have been very ill treated by the British government—I was born in Ireland, of one of the first families in that country, poor, because a younger brother—I went to America with expectations from an uncle (Daniel McCormick, Esq. of N York) who possesses a large fortune, is old and unmarried. French persecution having exiled from that country many of the respectable families of France. I married a lady of that description, who died and left two daughters without a fortune—I applied to the American government, and through the influence of the British minister I was appointed a captain of artillery during Mr. Adams's administration. I had command at Portland and at the fort near Boston, and while in commission I was employed in quelling a meeting or insurrection among the soldiery, and during my continuance in office I gave general satisfaction. But perceiving there was no field for my ambition I purchased an estate in Vermont, near the Canada line, and there studied law for five years without stirring from home. I detested republican government, and I filled the newspapers with essays against it.

Deponent says, that Henry told him in the course of his interview, which he mentioned yesterday, that the severity of his strictures in the public prints against republican government attracted the attention of the British government. "Sir James Craig," continued he, "became desirous of my acquaintance. He invited me to Quebec, where I staid some time. Hence I went to Montreal, where every thing I had to fear, and all I had to hope, was disclosed to me. I went afterwards to Boston, where I established my usual residence. I was surrounded by all the people pointed out to me by the agents who were under my orders. I have lived at the exchange coffee house, gave large parties, made excursions into the country, and received an order extraordinary from Sir James Craig, to dispose of the fleet at Halifax, and of the troops, to further the object of my mission, if required. My devotion to the cause was extreme. I exhausted all my funds. I spent many precious years in the service; and was advised to proceed to London. The government treated me with great kindness. I was received in the highest circles; was complimented with a ticket as member of the Pitt Club, without being balloted for. And when I had spent all my money and presented my claims for retribution, the government attempted to cheapen my services, [marchander] to beat

me down: My claims were to the amount of 32,000l. I was told, however, that I should be provided for, by a recommendation to Sir George Prevost, in case I would return to Canada, and continue my mission and services, as before, and to exercise the same vigilance over the interests of the British government. At the same time, the government appointed a friend of mine, an Irish gentleman, attorney general for Canada, through my influence." [Deponent saw this gentleman at Mr. Gilbert Robertson's in New-York.] Henry continued, "Disappointed in my expectations, I was impatient to proceed to Canada, to sell my estates and my library, and take my revenge against the British government. I knew that if I went to Canada, I must deliver up my dispatches, and that I should afterwards be put off by government. I therefore determined to retain the documents in my own possession, as the instrument of my revenge. Determined to extricate myself from my embarrassing connexion with the British government, I refused the offer of a passage to Halifax in one of their ships of war; and determined to live privately and retired at Ryde, and take passage in the first vessel that should sail for the U. States. This is the cause of your meeting me at Ryde."

Henry came down to Washington, and stopped at Tomlinson's, where deponent saw him. He afterwards removed to George Town, to the house of one Davis, an auctioneer, where the deponent visited him every day, and found him always occupied. Deponent waited for his disclosures, not having any disposition to pry into his secrets, but Henry was entirely silent, and incessantly sighing very deeply. On the day of Gen. Blount's funeral, deponent took Henry down to Alexandria, in expectation that he might communicate his projects—but he was still reserved. After dinner they returned, and whilst in the carriage, Henry tells deponent "that he has great confidence in him; that he (deponent) has been here some time, and asks his opinion of Mr. Monroe." Deponent answered that he was very little acquainted with any body, but thought Mr. Monroe a most virtuous and respectable man.

Deponent remained several days without hearing any thing more, until one morning at 7 o'clock, Henry came into his apartment and said—"Crillon I you must sell me St. Martial." [an estate of the deponent's in Lebour, near the Spanish frontier]; "you have the title paper with you. My name will be rescued from oblivion by living near Crillon, the habitation of your ancestors, and of a man who has been my friend." Deponent answered that he had no objection; and, if Henry on seeing the property was not satisfied, he would give orders to his agent in France to cancel the bargain. The conveyance was accordingly made. Henry left deponent, when Mr. Brock to whom Henry was not introduced, came into deponent's apartment. About this time, deponent received four anonymous threatening letters, and was advised by his friends that he was surrounded by spies; but he told them that he had nothing to fear—that he was "sans peur & sans reproche." By one of these letters I was advised to leave the city before 12 o'clock, as a person had just arrived from London with orders to arrest me.

Henry told deponent that a Mr. Gilvary, or Gillivray, from Quebec, had come to him at New-York, to persuade him to go to Canada; but Henry said "he would not—that the Rubicon was passed."

Henry kept the first company at Boston.

Deponent left Boston in the public stage. Henry was also a passenger. But at New-Haven deponent took a private carriage to himself.

The court Edward de Crillon.

ERRATA.—In the address to the "People of New-England," in line 5th from the top, instead of *integrity*, read *integrity*. In line 22d. instead of *devised* read *developed*. In line 49th. instead of *unfavourable*, read *unanswered*.

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